



Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics

**UNDERSTANDING INTERMARRIAGE
FROM THE SWEDES' PERSPECTIVE**

Joana SERRET

395

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Resum.- *Estudi dels matrimonis mixtos des de la perspectiva dels suecs*

S'analitzen els matrimonis mixtos a Suècia des d'una perspectiva inusual: el cònjuge natiu. La literatura existent s'ha centrat principalment en el cònjuge estranger i en la importància d'aquests matrimonis com a signe d'integració de l'immigrant. Aquest estudi posa l'atenció en els suecs que es casen amb estrangers i analitza les característiques principals dels cònjuges nadius, diferenciats per gènere. S'examina l'edat al matrimoni, la diferència d'edat entre els cònjuges, el nivell educatiu, la grandària del municipi i l'origen dels cònjuges estrangers.

Paraules clau.- Nupcialitat, població estrangera, matrimonis mixtos, Suècia.

Resumen.- *Estudio de los matrimonios mixtos desde la perspectiva de los suecos*

Se analiza los matrimonios mixtos en Suecia desde una perspectiva inusual: el cónyuge nativo. La literatura existente se ha centrado principalmente en el cónyuge extranjero y en la importancia de estos matrimonios como signo de integración del inmigrante. Este estudio centra su atención en los suecos que se casan con extranjeros y analiza las principales características de los cónyuges nativos, diferenciados por género. Se examina la edad al matrimonio, la diferencia de edad entre los cónyuges, el nivel educativo, el tamaño del municipio y el origen de los cónyuges extranjeros.

Palabras clave.- Nupcialidad, población extranjera, matrimonios mixtos, Suecia.

Abstract.- *Understanding intermarriage from the Swedes' perspective*

This article analyzes the mixed marriage in Sweden from an unusual point of view: the native partner. The existing literature focused on the immigrant partner and on the importance of mixed marriage as a key component of immigrant's integration. This study pays attention to the Swedes who intermarry and it analyzes the main characteristics of the native partners, differentiated by gender. This research examines the age at marriage, age difference between partners, level of education, size of municipality and origin of the immigrant partners.

Keywords.- Marriage, immigrant population, mixed marriages, Sweden.

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UNDERSTANDING INTERMARRIAGE FROM THE SWEDES' PERSPECTIVE

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1.- Introducció

Intermarriage (marriage between a native and an immigrant) is achieving importance in the last years because the number of immigrants is increasing in developed countries. These immigrants have different effects in the host societies, and one of them is on the marriage market.

Most research on intermarriage has been focused on the societal, structural and individual factors that make immigrant population to marry out of their group (Pagnini & Morgan 1990; Qian & Lichter 2001; Jacobs & Labov 2002). Intermarriage has been considered a basic indicator of integration where high rates of intermarriage mean assimilation or social openness. In all these studies, the focus has always been on immigrants and few attentions have been paid to the societal, structural and individual factors that make non – immigrants to marry out of their group (Glowsky 2007). The overall question is that whether native born play also an active role explaining the intermarriage or if they are passive receivers. In this study we will not analyse the immigrants but the natives: the characteristics of the Swedes who marry foreign born people.

In this research there are two main issues: the first one is to observe if the Swedes who marry foreign born people have the same characteristics that Swedes who marry native people. The second goal is to check if the patterns of natives who marry exogamous are the same for both genders. The initial hypothesis is that Swedes who marry foreign born people have a common profile (and it is different of those who marry endogamous) and we are going to identify these traits. We will consider the age at marriage, the difference of age between the partners, the partner's nationalities, the level of education and the size of municipality. According to the second aim, women and men will be analysed separately to observe if both gender have or not the same behaviour.

To achieve the aims, we will study the characteristics of three types of marriages: Swedish men married to Swedish women (homogenous marriages), Swedish men married to foreign born women, and finally, Swedish women married to foreign born men.

2.- Literature Review

Intermarriage is one of the consequences of migration. People migrate and they live in the new host societies producing demographic changes in this population. One of the changes is the marriage between a native person and an immigrant: the intermarriage. The first studies about intermarriage appeared in United States and later in Europe, according to the migration process.

In first place, we have to consider the marriage markets and how they work. The marriage markets are composed by three groups of singles: ones who want to get married, ones who do not want to get married and ones who want to get married if the right person arrives (Cretser 1999). The selection of the partner depends on three factors: the individual preferences, the opportunity to meet a partner, and finally, the third part involvement such as family and social environment (Kalmijn 1998). This market works in base of preferences and the attractive individuals are who have high social and personal resources. The Bourdieu's theory of capital confirms this idea: there is cultural, economic and social capital which makes a person more or less attractive. According to the economic theory of the family, singles are rational actors who try to maximize their benefit by their partner choice (Becker 1991). The most part of the people prefer to marry someone with similar characteristics (Kalmijn 1998, Becker 1974).

The situation is different when we observe the intermarriage. There are three different preconditions to intermarry: people are exposed in the market, they want to get married outside their group and they have to overcome barriers (Niedomysl, Östh, Van Ham, 2009). According to the Kalmijn definition there are some variations comparing intermarriages and marriages. The first aspect, about the preferences, is different because intermarriage is not part of the marriages with similar characteristics. Observing the second factor, the possibility to meet a foreign partner increases with the migration and other circumstances: internet, exchange programmes in the university (Erasmus), etc. Finally, the

third part involvement is more problematic with intermarriages due to the cultural differences.

Intermarriage is also important, not only for the changes in the marriage market, but also for the significance in the integration process. Some authors consider that intermarriage is vital to the immigrant's integration in the host society. It can be measured as an influence to the social integration (Dribe & Lund 2008) or as an outcome of the integration process (Pagnini & Morgan, 1990). From the economic point of view, intermarriage is positively associated with the economic integration (Dribe & Lund 2008) and with the integration of immigrants in the labour market (Gordon 1964, Coleman 1985).

Intermarriage is related not only to integration but also to assimilation process. According to the assimilation perspective, the probability of intermarriage depends on three factors: the length of the adaptation period, the education (which could have a positive effect on intermarriage), and the restrictions to endogamous marriage due to the structure of the local marriage market. Considering the Kalmijn's idea, people prefer to get marry to a similar partner (race, ethnicity, education, socioeconomic status, language, and religion), so a big cultural dissimilarity reduces the likelihood of an immigrant marrying a native (Dribe & Lund 2008). For this reason, the rate of intermarriage is a good indicator of cultural dissimilarity, and also an indicator of social acceptance (Kalmijn 1993).

To study the intermarriage in Sweden is needed a previous analysis of its immigration. There are three types of immigration: immigration from Nordic countries (specially from Finland) due to the common Nordic labour market established in 1954, labour immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe countries in 1950s and 1960s (recruited to work in the manufacturing sector), and refugee immigration (from ex communist countries) (Çelikaksoy et al; 2010). The situation changed after the 1970. There were some modifications in the labour market: less economic growth, lower rates of occupation, and the jobs required more qualification (high education level, high specification and language proficiency), (Lundh & Ohlsson, 1994); and there were also variations in the policies: restrictive policies for non Nordic immigrants, so the number of labour immigrants decreased and refugee migration became the largest group of immigration to Sweden (in 1970 from Latin America, in 1980 from Middle East and in 1990 from Yugoslavia), (Dribe & Lund 2008).

The marriage market in Sweden has particular characteristics. In first place, the cohabitation is an extended fact in Sweden and it means that the marriage rates are not

equivalent at couple rates as in another countries. In fact, the marriage rate in Sweden is one of the lowest in the most industrialized countries. For this reason, we have to consider both cohabitation and marriages to study the couples. In relation to the intermarriages, we only will consider marriages because a marriage is more solid than cohabitation (Cretser, 1999). Another important fact to consider is the change in the Swedish law in 1989: there was a modification related to the pensions for the surviving spouses and the number of marriages increased in this years because being married was more advantageous than cohabiting.

The recent studies about intermarriage in Sweden focused on immigrant's point of view. The immigrant's variables which influence the intermarriages are: nationality of partners (the most frequent are from West Europe (except Finland) and United States), time of arrived in the host country (more time living in Sweden higher probability to intermarry), age (at younger ages more intermarriage due to the facilities of adaptation), level of education (at higher education higher rates of intermarriage), size of immigrant group (bigger is the origin group less rate of intermarriage), and size of municipality (in the big cities the immigrants marry less natives and more immigrant from the same country or from another country) (Dribe & Lundh 2008; Cretser 1999). In this study we will do an analysis with similar factors but from native's approach instead of immigrant's point of view.

3.- Data and Methods

The data contain records from the population register held by Statistics Sweden. The data include couples which got married from 1969 to 2003 and currently married in 2003. The sample contains marriages celebrated in Sweden and population from 40 countries of origin. The considered countries are: Denmark, Finland, Norway, France, The Netherlands, Germany, Austria, United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Greece, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Estonia, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Russia, Czechoslovakia, USA, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Morocco, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Filipinas, Vietnam, China, South Korea and Sweden. For each person there is available information about individual characteristics (age, year of birth, country of birth, year of last immigration, education) and marriage characteristics

(marriage type, municipality and its size, year of marriage and size of the family). The couples who got married outside Sweden, who were from other nationalities, the homosexual marriages or the cohabitations are not considered in this data.

To study the characteristics of Swedes who marry foreign born people we select two types of marriages: homogenous marriages (composed by two Swedish partners) and heterogeneous marriages (composed by one Swedish partner and one foreign born partner). The marriages between immigrants (with the same or different nationalities) are not included because the interest is in the behaviour of the native partner. The main goal is to describe the profile of the natives who marry foreign born people using the descriptive analysis, considering the variables of age, education, size of municipality. This profile will be compared to the Swedes who married native partners to check if there are differences. The second goal is to know the factors which are more significant to marry a foreign born partner. We will use sets of regression models, considering the same variables: groups of age, education, and size of municipality. We will study males and females separately in both analyses. One of the problems of this data is that there is no distinction between first or second (or more) marriages. The main variable used in this research is the age at marriage. Knowing the age at marriage we can compare if the heterogeneous marriages are in the same age or later than homogeneous marriages. This variable can also explain the differences of age between the partners. The level of education and size of municipality are also important variables because they give information about the social and economic characteristics of the partners. Finally, the variable country of birth will explain if there are significant differences in the preferences to get married.

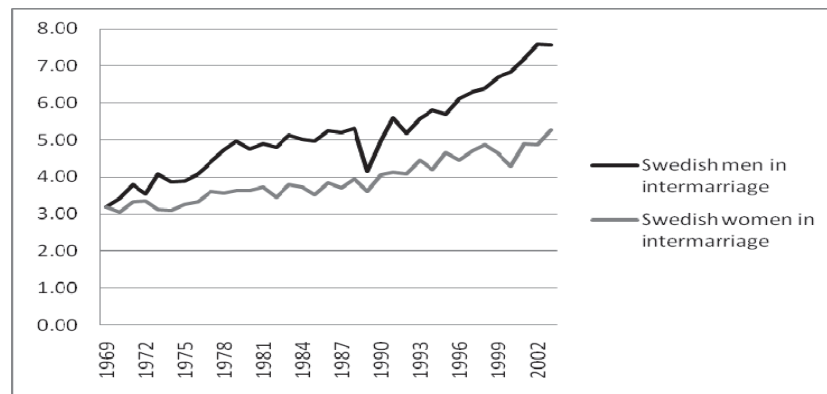
4.- Empirical Results

4.1.- Descriptive Analysis

The descriptive analysis will observe the Swedes who marry foreign born people and the Swedes who marry endogamous to compare them. As we mentioned, both genders will be analyzed separately. In Sweden, the percentage of intermarriage is increasing since 1969 (Graph 1). The percentage of Swedish men in intermarriage is higher than the percentage

of Swedish women in intermarriage (2.5 points of difference in 2002). In conclusion, we can affirm that Swedish men marry more foreign born partner than Swedish women.

Graph 1.- Percentage of intermarriage in Sweden, 1969-2003



Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden.

There is a peak in 1989 and it is related to widow's pension. The Swedish parliament in 1988 enacted a reform abolishing widow's pension from January 1990; it also introduced a certain transitional provisions, which implied among other things that women who were born before 1945 and who were married by the end of 1989 would be entitled to widow's pension if their husband died (Björklund, Ginther and Sundström). For this reason the intermarriages decreased in 1989 (the number of marriages increased because there were marriages from people who lived in cohabitation from long time, so couples formed in period where there were less intermarriages). This peak will be present in all the analysis.

The country of birth gives a general approach of the foreign partners. The first table (Table 1) shows the percentages of nationalities of Swedes' husbands. The biggest group is from Scandinavian countries and it is followed by men from Europe. These groups declined slightly in the last years but they are still the 62.84% of total mixed marriages. In the last years Asia and East Europe rose gradually, arriving at values of 11.86% and 15.28% respectively.

Table 1.- Origin of the foreign born husbands in Sweden, 1969-2003

Year of marriage	Scandinavian countries %	Europe %	East Europe %	USA %	South America %	Africa %	Asia %
1969	42.06	36.23	16.69	3.12	0.00	0.68	1.22
1970	45.81	33.33	15.32	3.32	0.16	0.32	1.74
1971	44.06	35.94	14.22	3.13	0.31	0.94	1.41
1972	46.90	30.52	15.26	4.61	0.32	0.16	2.23
1973	46.58	32.19	14.55	3.08	0.34	0.68	2.57
1974	47.47	32.29	13.10	2.98	0.30	0.30	3.57
1975	51.30	28.41	14.06	2.90	0.58	0.43	2.32
1976	51.96	25.56	12.57	5.73	0.28	0.42	3.49
1977	55.72	23.61	12.17	3.81	0.88	0.44	3.37
1978	51.29	26.85	12.38	4.82	0.80	0.32	3.54
1979	54.46	21.75	13.62	3.76	1.25	0.78	4.38
1980	49.85	28.88	10.33	4.71	1.52	0.46	4.26
1981	54.19	25.70	10.43	4.85	1.17	0.73	2.94
1982	54.02	24.44	10.29	4.50	1.29	1.29	4.18
1983	49.64	26.06	13.68	4.22	1.75	0.58	4.08
1984	54.57	24.57	9.43	4.71	1.43	0.71	4.57
1985	53.55	23.86	9.80	3.84	1.28	0.99	6.68
1986	53.95	23.09	9.75	5.06	1.36	0.62	6.17
1987	55.82	21.62	8.43	4.39	2.02	1.54	6.18
1988	50.66	24.37	10.62	6.17	1.92	0.91	5.36
1989	59.46	20.45	11.03	2.83	1.46	0.32	4.45
1990	48.14	23.44	10.39	6.47	2.76	0.74	8.06
1991	48.42	22.41	9.35	5.74	2.70	0.68	10.70
1992	44.33	25.37	12.31	5.14	2.46	0.96	9.42
1993	48.03	20.87	10.44	5.54	2.34	1.28	11.50
1994	42.75	24.81	12.46	4.30	3.44	1.40	10.85
1995	47.28	21.65	11.17	5.83	1.84	0.87	11.36
1996	45.80	22.61	10.46	5.33	3.06	0.69	12.04
1997	43.11	22.12	11.53	5.44	2.34	1.78	13.68
1998	39.10	23.24	11.98	6.58	4.86	0.81	13.42
1999	41.27	22.93	11.91	6.03	2.57	1.05	14.24
2000	40.33	24.62	12.54	5.21	4.15	0.98	12.16
2001	40.56	23.22	10.87	4.56	4.48	1.40	14.92
2002	38.58	24.07	11.66	5.02	4.61	1.42	14.64
2003	39.12	23.72	11.86	4.40	4.10	1.53	15.28

Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden.

In the table (Table 2) of nationalities of Swedes' wives the biggest group in 1969 was from Scandinavian countries with values of 70.54% and it fell until 32.55% in 2002. Women from Asia jumped from 0.54% in 1969 to 29.79% in 2003, and women from East Europe until 18.21% in 2003.

Table 2.- Origin of the foreign born wives in Sweden, 1969-2003

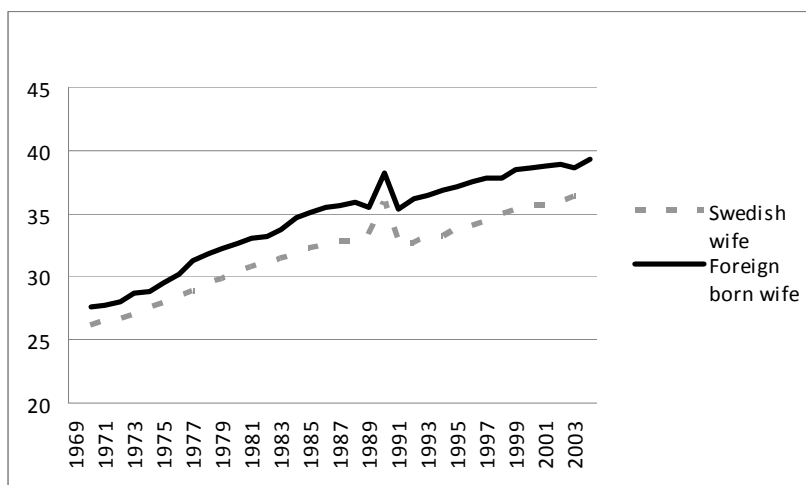
	Scandinavian countries	Europe	East Europe	USA	South America	Africa	Asia
1969	70.54	19.19	7.03	2.43	0.14	0.14	0.54
1970	72.21	15.09	8.74	2.40	0.14	0.14	1.27
1971	69.86	16.71	9.86	2.19	0.27	0.41	0.68
1972	68.48	15.23	12.22	2.26	0.00	0.00	1.81
1973	68.64	14.89	12.38	2.50	0.13	0.13	1.32
1974	73.48	12.43	10.16	2.39	0.24	0.12	1.19
1975	72.42	13.24	9.96	2.67	0.00	0.24	1.46
1976	69.53	13.63	11.68	3.09	0.34	0.11	1.60
1977	69.94	12.93	11.86	2.99	0.84	0.12	1.32
1978	68.28	13.63	12.30	2.77	0.60	0.00	2.41
1979	67.27	13.80	12.43	3.08	0.57	0.11	2.74
1980	69.45	10.92	11.38	3.48	0.81	0.00	3.95
1981	63.77	14.38	12.71	2.34	1.45	0.22	5.13
1982	67.24	11.42	11.19	3.92	1.50	0.35	4.38
1983	66.13	13.27	12.62	2.05	1.08	0.11	4.75
1984	63.65	13.86	12.90	3.62	1.49	0.32	4.16
1985	63.88	11.57	12.47	4.33	1.71	0.50	5.53
1986	63.19	14.87	10.61	3.45	1.36	0.45	6.07
1987	63.16	12.82	11.88	3.48	2.04	0.51	6.11
1988	63.47	10.73	11.78	3.53	2.33	0.15	8.03
1989	68.40	11.29	8.97	2.92	1.86	0.28	6.26
1990	58.69	11.50	11.24	4.49	2.94	0.17	10.98
1991	52.78	12.45	12.86	4.98	3.15	0.50	13.28
1992	50.88	11.79	13.90	4.89	3.20	1.10	14.24
1993	48.25	11.68	15.77	4.60	3.24	0.34	16.11
1994	48.25	9.25	16.08	3.81	4.58	0.85	17.17
1995	47.10	9.94	17.18	4.14	3.58	0.72	17.34
1996	43.70	10.15	17.13	3.67	4.03	1.15	20.16
1997	42.86	10.27	15.41	3.87	4.43	0.99	22.17
1998	40.36	10.50	18.53	3.77	4.60	0.41	21.83
1999	39.52	9.87	18.45	3.96	4.24	1.11	22.85
2000	35.62	9.98	17.79	3.64	4.30	0.80	27.86
2001	35.30	8.99	18.67	3.59	5.54	0.60	27.31
2002	32.91	10.52	18.74	4.30	5.65	1.00	26.87
2003	32.55	9.83	18.21	3.45	5.32	0.85	29.79

Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden

To conclude, Swedish women marry partners with similar origins (from Scandinavian countries or Europe) and Swedish men marry more different partners (from Asia or East Europe).

The mean age at marriage is not the same in homogeneous and heterogeneous marriages. The native people who marry foreign born people do it later than those who marry native people. It could be because Swedes who marry a foreign born partner are older or because there are more second marriages with foreign born partner (second marriages are at older ages than first marriages). In the case of Swedish husband (Graph 2) this difference is bigger than in Swedish wife (Graph 3) and it is going up gradually.

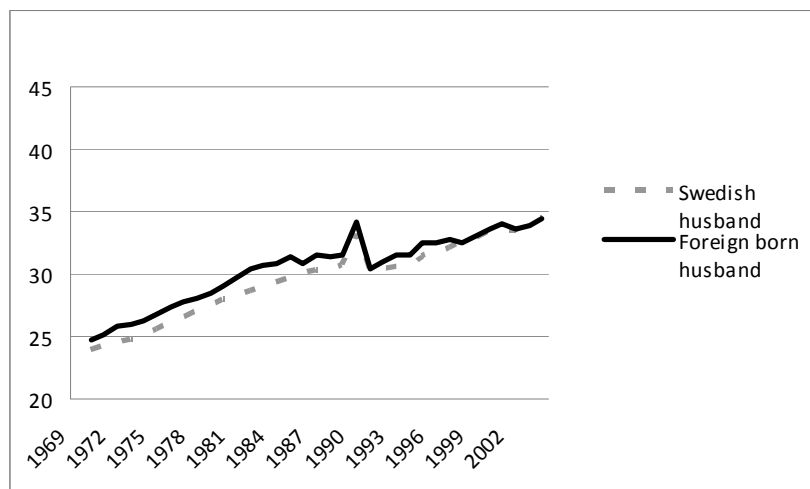
Graph 2.- Mean age at marriage for Swedish husband, 1969-2003



Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden

In both graphs the mean age at marriage (in homogenous or heterogeneous marriages) is rising with the years as it was expected due to the postponement of the marriage in developed countries. There are not significant differences in the mean age at marriage considering the nationalities of the partners.

Graph 3.- Mean age at marriage for Swedish wife, 1969-2003



Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden

Observing the difference of age between the partners (Table 3) in Swedish marriages we can see that is quite constant in all the years, increasing from 1969 to 1989 (from 2.27 to 2.66) and decreasing from 1990 to 2002 until the initial values. This difference, in marriages where the wife is Swedish and the husband is foreign born, is similar in all the period (with an interval of 0.5 years). The Swedish husband married with foreign born women have a different trend: the age's difference is rising gently with the time, from 2.26 years in 1969 until 3.75 years in 2002.

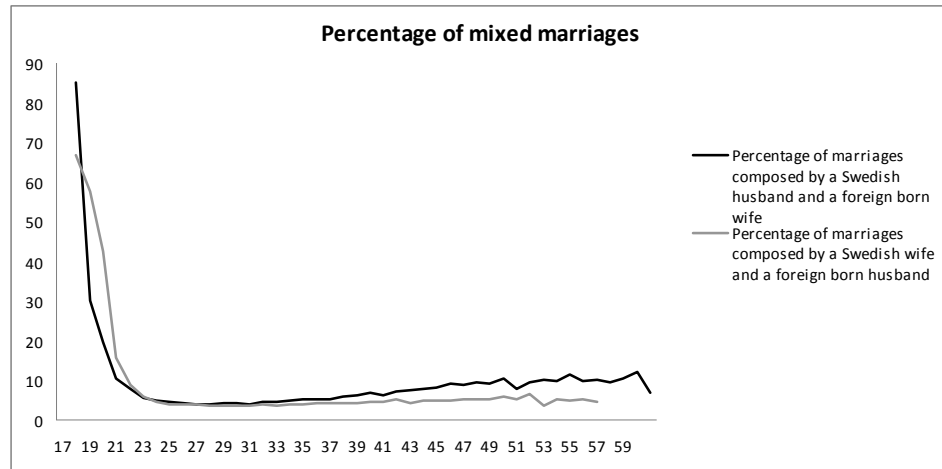
Finally, the last analysis about the variable age at marriage is the percentage of mixed marriages by ages (Graph 4). The trend of mixed couples is similar in both genders. In early ages there is a high percentage of mixed couples and it declines until the last ages where it improves slightly (higher in Swedish husbands).

Table 3.- Difference of age between the partners (husband-wife) in base of the type of marriage, in Sweden, 1969-2003

Year of marriage	Swedish husband & Swedish wife	Swedish husband & Foreign born wife	Swedish wife & Foreign born husband
1969	2.27	2.26	2.98
1970	2.21	1.99	3.24
1971	2.17	2.36	2.92
1972	2.19	2.25	3.12
1973	2.27	1.79	3.59
1974	2.33	2.11	3.24
1975	2.35	2.15	3.19
1976	2.38	2.39	3.40
1977	2.45	2.38	3.35
1978	2.44	2.39	3.12
1979	2.46	2.65	3.54
1980	2.47	2.56	3.05
1981	2.43	2.16	2.90
1982	2.48	2.77	3.23
1983	2.53	2.58	3.25
1984	2.58	3.10	3.21
1985	2.58	2.93	3.39
1986	2.56	2.83	3.03
1987	2.58	2.78	3.28
1988	2.55	2.56	3.18
1989	2.66	2.85	3.58
1990	2.45	2.54	3.08
1991	2.39	3.22	3.07
1992	2.47	3.42	3.09
1993	2.41	3.19	3.05
1994	2.41	3.27	3.00
1995	2.35	3.44	2.79
1996	2.39	3.45	3.04
1997	2.36	3.27	2.59
1998	2.35	3.54	3.10
1999	2.29	3.67	2.86
2000	2.32	3.59	2.73
2001	2.25	3.56	2.91
2002	2.30	3.60	2.67
2003	2.26	3.75	2.78

Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden

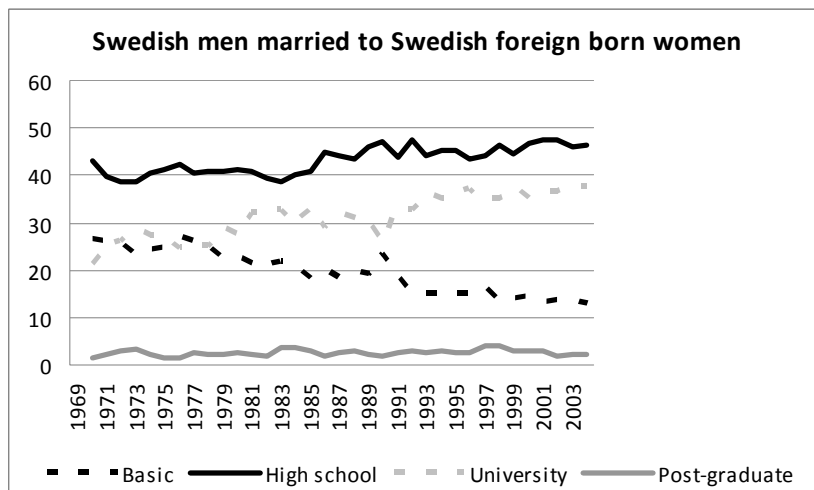
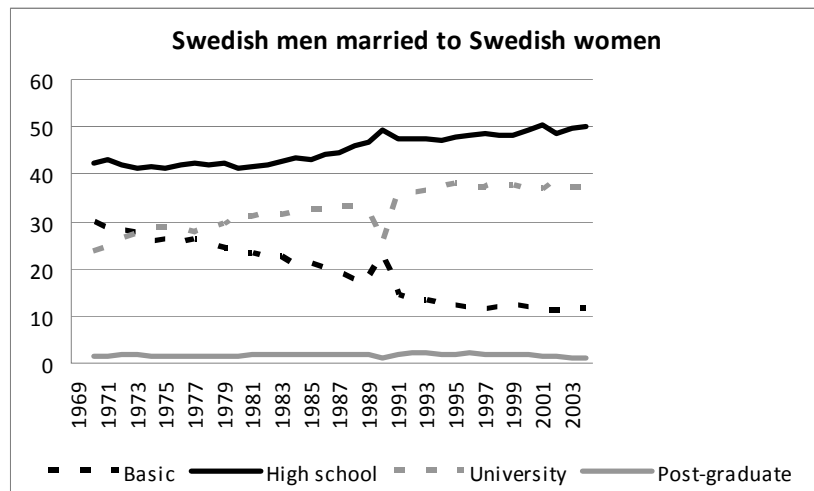
Graph 4.- Percentage of mixed marriages in Sweden, 1969-2003



Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden

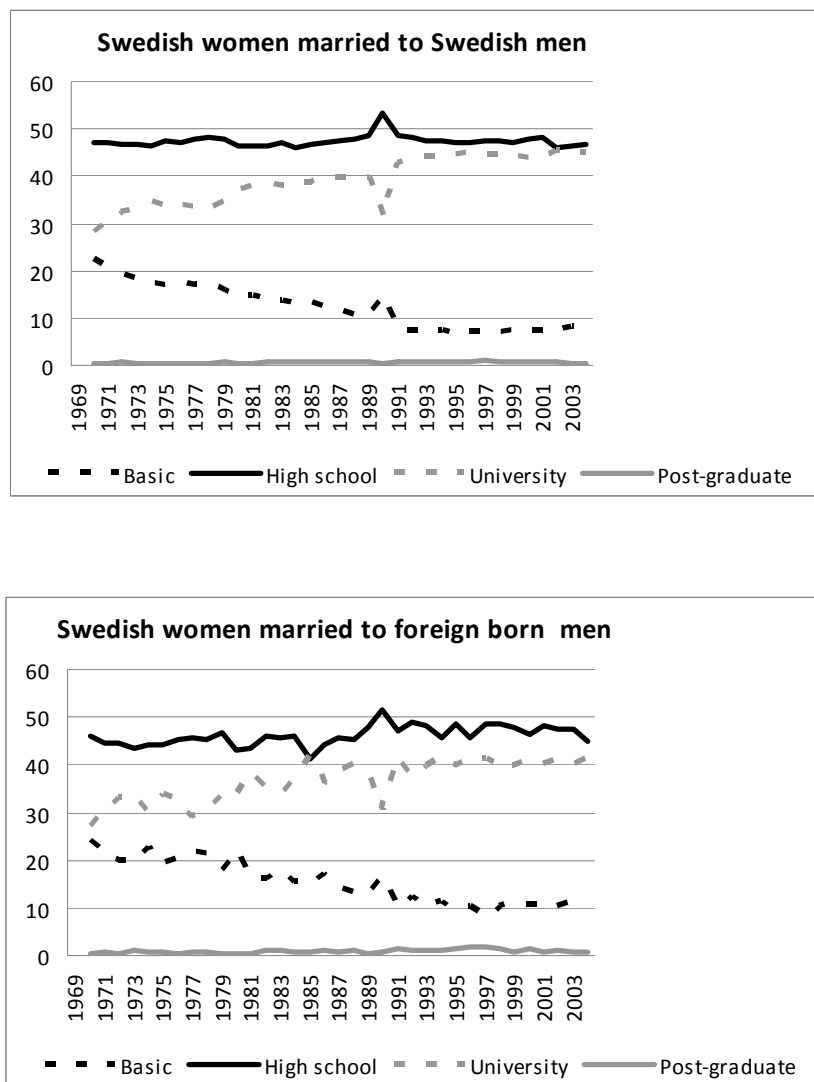
The next variable to study is the level of education. The variable of education is divided in four categories: basic (from 0 to 9 years of school), high school (from 1 to 3 years of high school), university (from 1 year in the university), and finally, post-graduate (post-graduate degree). There are no significant differences between the Swedes who marry Swedish people or those who marry foreign born partners (Graph 5 and Graph 6). The main differences are between sexes but not between the type of marriage.

Graph 5.- Percentage of level of education for Swedish husband, 1969-2003



Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden

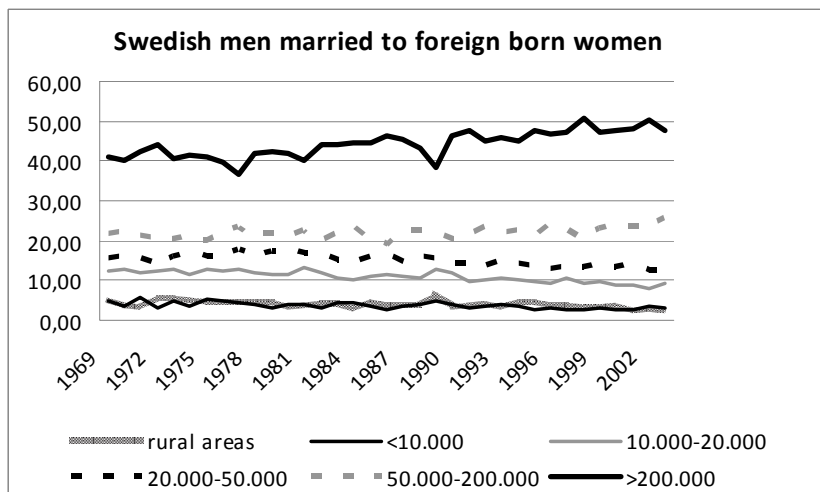
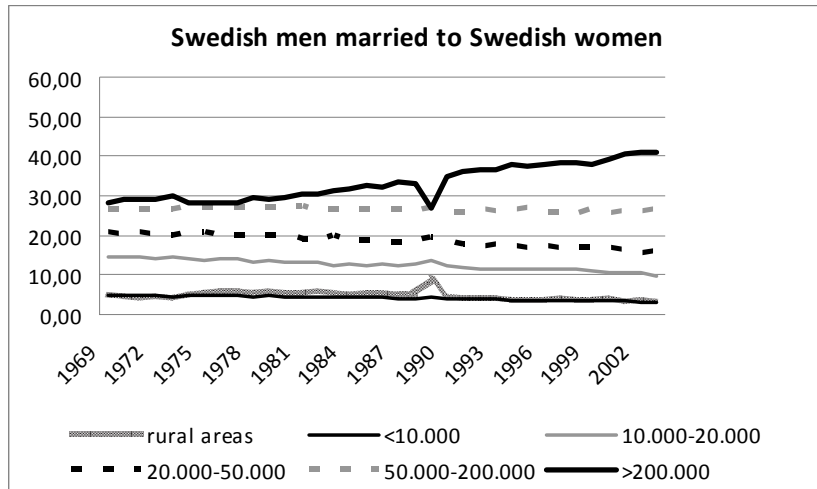
Graph 6.- Percentage of level of education for Swedish wife, 1969-2003



Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden

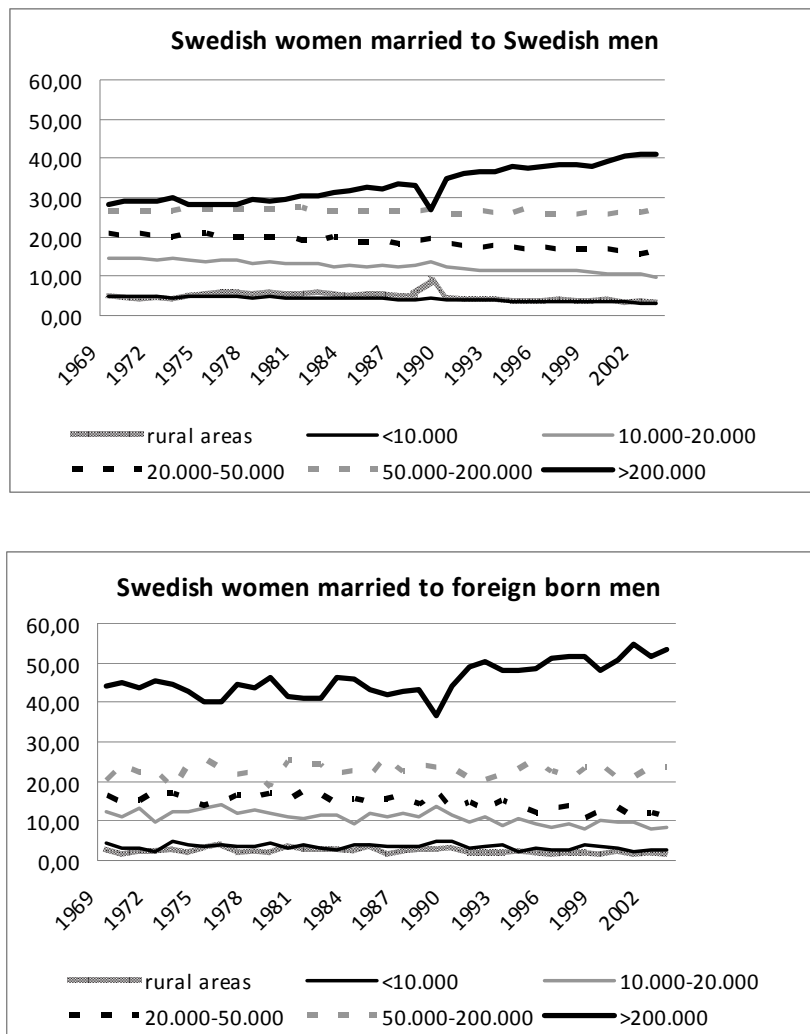
The variable size of municipality is composed by six groups: rural areas, villages with less than 10.000 inhabitants, municipalities from 10.000 to 20.000 inhabitants, towns from 20.000 to 50.000 inhabitants, cities from 50.000 to 200.000 inhabitants and urban areas with more than 200.000 inhabitants. There are not important differences between genders and small differences between the type of marriages (Graph 7 and Graph 8).

Graph 7.- Percentage of size of municipality for Swedish husband, 1969-2003



Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden

Graph 8.- Percentage of size of municipality for Swedish wife, 1969-2003



Source: Calculations on micro data on marriages from Statistics Sweden

The Swedes who marry foreign born people have higher presence in cities with more than 200.000 inhabitants (for both genders) and the presence falls when the size of municipality also declines (also for both genders).

4.2.- Regression Analysis

After the descriptive analysis, which has given a first view of the characteristics of the Swedes who marry foreign born people, this part deals with the relation between the previous variables and the probability of intermarriage. The strength of this relation is analyzed in a logistic regression (considering the coefficients) with the dependent variable “marry to a foreign born partner”.

Table 4 shows the estimates of intermarriage by the characteristics of the native partner that seemed more significant in the descriptive analysis: age at marriage (classified by group of ages), level of education and size of municipality. Usually, the partner's nationality is considered in the intermarriage models but not in this research. This fact is due to the approach: this study is about natives, not about immigrants, and it is focused on the Swedes' characteristics. In the first column there are the coefficients of Swedish husbands married with foreign born wives and in the second column the coefficients of Swedish women married with foreign born husbands.

The negative association between age at marriage and intermarry seems to be valid in the younger ages (until 45 years old) for Swedish men. Then, this association becomes positive and moreover, it increases with the age. It means that the younger categories have a lower risk to intermarry than the older categories. In the women's case, the situation is different: there is a negative association in all the age groups and the value of this association rises with the age. These findings are consistent with the conclusions obtained in the descriptive analysis: Swedish men have more probability to intermarry than Swedish women, and this probability is higher in older ages.

For what concerns the education's level of the Swedes there are also differences between males and females. The association is positive for Swedish male and stronger in high school level. There are not differences between university and post-graduate levels: the association is positive but weaker than in high school level. So more educated men are less likely to intermarry. For the Swedish women the association is negative in high school and university and positive in post-graduate (but not significant). There is not so much probabilities that Swedish women intermarry in high school or university levels, but higher in post-graduate level. The conclusions are more specific than in the descriptive analysis where there were not significant differences between the levels of education.

Table 4.- Logit estimates of intermarriage by groups of ages at marriage, level of education and size of municipality

	Marriage with a foreign born women (Coefficients)	Marriage with a foreign born men (Coefficients)
Age of Swedish partner		
< 20 years	ref.cat	ref.cat
20-24 years	-0.617***	-0.588***
25-29 years	-0.631***	-0.582***
30-34 years	-0.424***	-0.418***
35-39 years	-0.0163	-0.297***
40-44 years	-0.076	-0.211***
45-49 years	0.341	-0.126
50-54 years	0.365*	-0.179**
55-59 years	0.499***	-0.074
> 60 years	0.515***	-0.081
Level of education of Swedish partner		
Basic	ref.cat	ref.cat
High School	0.058***	-0.162***
University	0.034	-0.244***
Post-graduate	0.036***	0.544
Size of municipality		
Rural Areas	ref.cat	ref.cat
< 10.000	0.136***	0.510***
10.000-20.000	0.118***	0.547***
20.000-50.000	0.035	0.445***
50.000-200.000	0.087**	0.565***
>200.000	0.532***	1.043***
N	783429	773025
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01		

The last variable is the size of municipality. This factor seems to have a stronger positive effect for Swedish women than for Swedish men. The biggest probability to intermarry is for people who live in cities with more than 200.000 inhabitants and it is higher for Swedish women (1.043) than for Swedish men (0.532). In the case of Swedish husbands, except the cities with more than 200.000 inhabitants, the probability to intermarry is higher

in towns smaller than 20.000 inhabitants. For the Swedish women there are not important differences in the size of city, except the cities bigger than 200.000 inhabitants.

5.- Conclusions

In this research, we have explored intermarriage in Sweden using a new approach: the natives. This study has analyzed the people who got married (in Sweden) from 1969 to 2003 and were still married and lived in Sweden in 2003. We only consider the marriages with minimum one Swedish partner. The marriages composed by two immigrants are not present in the study.

The number of intermarriages has risen in Sweden in the last years. This increasing is higher for Swedish men than for Swedish women: men intermarry more than women. The nationalities of the partners have changed with the time. In 1969, Swedish men married basically women from Scandinavian countries but in the last years other nationalities got importance: Asia and East Europe. The Swedish women had a different evolution: in 1969 they got married, not only men from Scandinavian countries, but also men from Europe. In the last years they also got married men from Asia and East Europe, but in less percentage than Swedish men.

The age at marriage is one of the key components in this analysis. The mean age at marriage increases with the time, and consequently, also the main age at intermarriage do it. Before 1989, Swedes who got married to a foreign born partner did it later than those who married a native partner. After 1989, the Swedish women who married with a foreign born husband did it at the same age that those who married a Swedish husband. For the Swedish men, the situation was different, they married later when the wife was foreign born, and this difference of age increased with the time. Moreover, the difference of age between the partners is higher when the Swedish partner is the husband. The regression model confirmed that Swedish men intermarry more than women and the probabilities to do it rises at older ages. It could be because they did not find a partner in the Swedish market and they went to the international market, or maybe because they are second marriages.

The descriptive analysis showed that there were not differences in the level of education. The regression reported new details: Swedish men have more probability to intermarry if they have high school level, and less likely if they have higher level of education. The

situation is different for the Swedish women: there are not much probabilities to intermarry in high school level, but there are more in the post-graduate level.

The Swedes who marry non-Swedish partners have more presence in the big municipalities (more than 200.000 inhabitants) and when the size of the town decreases the presence also goes down. The logit model confirms that at bigger cities, more probability to intermarry, specially in the biggest municipality: more than 200.000 people. The relation between intermarry and size of municipality is stronger for the Swedish women.

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